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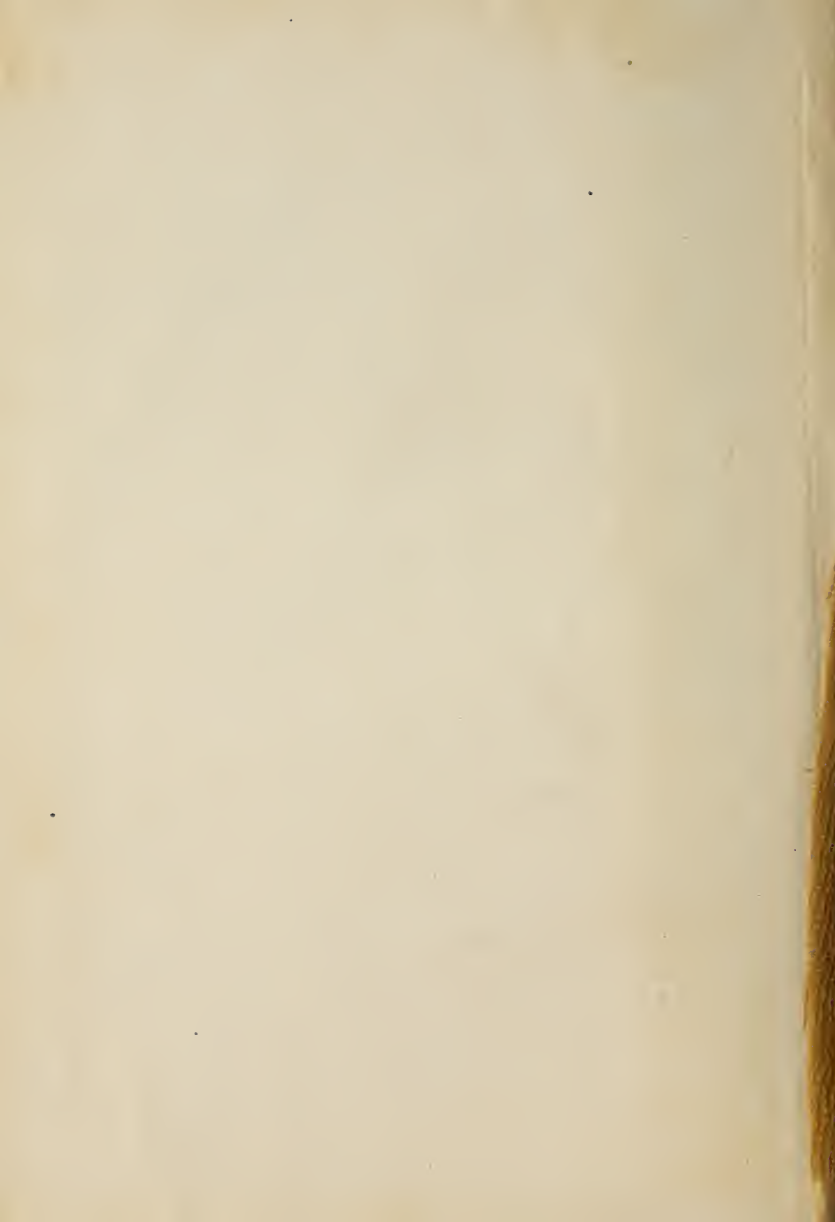


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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.







THE DUTIES
OF
BRITISH CHRISTIANS
IN RELATION TO THE
STRUGGLE IN AMERICA ;

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN
MORICE SQUARE BAPTIST CHAPEL,
DEVONPORT,

ON THE EVENING OF LORD'S DAY, 7TH JUNE, 1863,

BY
THE REV. JOHN STOCK.

Published by Request, and with Additional Notes.

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TO THE
CHRISTIANS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
AND OF
THE STATES OF AMERICA, FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE,
THIS DISCOURSE IS BY THE AUTHOR MOST
AFFECTIONATELY AND RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.

MANY people, doubtless, will think this a strange discourse for delivery in the house of God, and on the Lord's Day. So thinks the writer ; but we live in eventful times, which require a temporary abandonment of our old straight-laced notions of meeting-house proprieties. The Author of this address never delivered such a one before, on such an occasion and in such a place ; and, most probably, will never do so again. What he has done he does not regret, but is prepared to take all consequences. For his justification he appeals to his conscience, to his deep conviction of the urgency of the crisis, and to the Great Searcher of Hearts, beneath the shadow of whose presence and throne he has endeavoured to write these thoughts.

It ought to be stated that all the notes, and some of the most purely *political* parts of the information contained in the body of the discourse, have been added since its delivery. This announcement may lessen the severity of the strictures of some of my critics.

J. S.

THE
DUTIES OF BRITISH CHRISTIANS,
IN RELATION TO THE
STRUGGLE IN AMERICA.

EXODUS XXI. 16.—And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

DEUT. XXIII. 15, 16.—Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant who is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.

HEB. XIII. 3.—Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.

WE have felt it right to devote the service of this evening to the utterance of our thoughts on the Duties of British Christians in relation to the fearful struggle now going on in America. Such a subject is assuredly not beneath the dignity of the pulpit. A right state of public sentiment on this question must be productive of important results to the cause of truth and righteousness. We approach our theme with earnest prayer that not a word may escape our lips that shall be incompatible with the hallowed associations that surround the sacred desk.

I.—*And in the first place we shall prove, that Slavery is the cause of the present contest.*

For the last fifty years there has been a growing struggle between the Slave and the Free States of America for

supremacy. The American constitution was from the first utterly opposed to slavery. The Declaration of Independence, issued on July 4th, 1776, asserted—"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."* The preamble to the constitution says, "These are to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." The amendments to the constitution contain these words: "No *person* shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;" instead of, as proposed by Virginia, "No *freeman*." The constitution does not contain the words slave, slavery, and slaveholding; it does not give the least sanction, direct or indirect, expressed or implied, to slavery. It simply passed it over for the present, leaving it for settlement to a subsequent period.

The ordinance of 1787, carried by the unanimous vote of all the States, about four years after this country had recognized their independence, declares this to be its purpose: For "extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which for ever thereafter should be formed in the said territory (that is, unoccupied Union territory lying beyond the existing organized States). One of the articles of "Compact between the original States and the people and States of those territories, to remain for ever unalterable, unless by common consent," provides that "*neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the territory, otherwise than as the punishment of crime.*"

Such was the constitution of the States as finally fixed after the recognition of their national existence by this country. But this arrangement, which forbade the addition of any more Slave States to those already existing has been gradually set aside by the growing slave power in the Union. Six new Slave States have been added in defiance of the constitution. For fifty years the slavery party has been the dominant faction in the country, has generally

* Hist. of United States: Bancroft and Botta, vol. ii., p. 212.

elected its Presidents, and secured majorities in its Senate and Congress. Slavery felt that to preserve the States already held in its grasp it must acquire fresh territories. New Free States were springing up on every hand, and to neutralize these it was found necessary to create an equal number of additional Slave States, contrary to the provisions of the constitution.*

To check the growing slave power the Liberty Party was formed rather more than 20 years back. The motto of this party was, "Equal rights and fair wages for all; and, the Union as it should be." This party is now known as the Republican Party, the fundamental principle of which is the illegality of any further extension of slavery in the United States, and the necessity of carrying into effect the letter and spirit of the constitution on the whole slavery question. The slavery party is called the Democratic.—The party of liberty nearly succeeded in the election of President in 1856; but in the last election of 1860, it for the first time, carried its candidate; and Abraham Lincoln, the Republican, was elected by a large majority. The principle on which he was carried was this, "That the normal condition of all the territories of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legisla-

* It may seem strange to an English reader that the slaveholders of the United States should have been able to monopolize so long such vast political power. But the explanation is in reality easy. The actual holders of slaves are in number about 300,000 only. But then every owner has three votes for every five slaves that he possesses, and as the negroes are 41 per cent. of the population in the South, this makes the *personal* votes of the proprietors of slaves to be fearfully powerful. The non-slave holding white people of the South are about 51 per cent. of the population.—Those of them who possess the franchise are almost without an exception, under the influence of the slave-holders; "the mean whites;" "the white niggers;" "the poor trash;" are mostly not voters. Thus the South is pro-slavery in its voting throughout. It is a compact united phalanx, with the security of the "peculiar domestic institution" for its banner. With the North it is unfortunately otherwise. They are a divided people. The Democrats are a strong body among them, and though the Northern Democrats are mostly Union men, yet they are *pro-slavery Union men*. The New England States are radical in their anti-slavery views, while New York, Pennsylvania, and some other States take lower and more unworthy ground. Many of the rich capitalists in the North have large investments in Southern plantations, and are almost as rabid pro-slavery men as the most ferocious Southern planter. Thus until the recent disruption the South could command tens of thousands of votes in the divided North, while their own voting on all matters relating to slavery was well-nigh unanimous. President Lincoln was surrounded by Northern traitors when he took office.

tion, wherever such legislation is necessary, to maintain the provisions of the constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, or a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States."

And what was the result of the election of the Republican, or anti-slavery, candidate in 1860? Did the slavery party submit to the majority, thus constitutionally expressed? No; for they heard in their defeat the knell of slavery all over the Union. Before the new Government had come into power, they raised the standard of insurrection and rebellion; and Abraham Lincoln took his seat in the Presidential chair to find the South in arms against his own just and constitutional supremacy!* And for what? Let the Vice-President of the new Southern slave-holding Confederacy, Mr. Stephens, be heard. He says,—after admitting that "African slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution," and that the Fathers of the old Constitution held that the enslavement of the African race was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically — "Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid. The corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. The stone which was rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice. This is the Lord's doing, and it is mar-

* Abraham Lincoln was elected President 6th Nov., 1860. He had a very large majority over the sum of the votes given for all his opponents put together. South Carolina seceded 19th Dec., 1860; in January, 1861, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana followed. Several forts were at the same time seized, together with the Federal arsenals at Mobile and Baton Rouge, &c.; the Navy Yard at Pensacola, and the steamer *Fulton*, besides other vessels. In January a cannonade was opened from Secession batteries on the *Star of the West*, which was carrying reinforcements to Fort Sumpter. In the same month there were large seizures of Federal property of all kinds; among the rest the Custom-house and Mint at New Orleans, in which latter building 350,000 dollars of public money were found and appropriated by the Secessionists. Georgia and Texas followed, and in each instance with more or less of seizure of Federal property. On the 9th Feb., 1861, the Southern Confederacy was formally constituted, with Jeff. Davis for President, and A. H. Stephens as Vice-President. All this while, Buchanan, the pro-slavery President, and his Government were still in office, for Abraham Lincoln did not take the oath and enter upon his functions until March 4th, 1861. On the 12th April, Fort Sumpter was bombarded by the Secessionists, and surrendered on the 13th. Let the reader mark the dates. Between the 6th Nov., 1860, and the 4th March, 1861, President Buchanan and his Government played into the hands of the South most shamefully. When Lincoln was inaugurated, the rebels were prepared to strike at once, while the Federal authority was left almost defenceless.

vellous in our eyes!" Thus do they blaspheme the Holy word of God, by making slavery the Messiah, the Christ, of their new Confederacy! Such are their own words, and such the sentiments in which the statesmen of the South glory. They have raised and unfurled a flag, "in every flap of which the world should hear the crack of the whip, the clank of chains, and the groans of the negro"—(Dr. Eddy). And yet, how common it is for Englishmen, who know nothing of the constitutional history of America, to affirm that slavery has nothing to do with this conflict. No American would say that. All parties in that country, whether the friends or the enemies of slavery, admit that the question at issue is not merely whether the Union shall be preserved, but whether slavery shall extend to the St. Lawrence or liberty reach to the Rio Grande. Let every Briton awake to this conviction. Let not the valour of the Southern armies, nor the heroic fame of even a "Stonewall" Jackson, nor their brilliant victories, cause us to lose sight of the fact that the South themselves confess that they are fighting for a system of which slavery is "*the chief cornerstone.*" This fact is our justification for departing to-night from the ordinary course of our ministry, and for lifting up our voice in the house dedicated to the service of the God of love and righteousness, on this deadly strife. Our Master knows our motives, and we believe that He will accept the service.

II.—*We beg to remind you that Slavery and the Slave trade were English institutions long before the United States became a nation.*

It is really humiliating to hear the way in which some English writers and orators express themselves about our relation to American slavery. They forget that Washington did not found slavery in America. It was an institution introduced there by England, the land of a monarchy and State church. Slavery is not the offspring of democratical institutions.* England planted the deadly Upas tree on the

* "While Virginia, by the concession of a representative government (July 24th, 1621), was constituted the asylum of liberty, by one of the strange contradictions in human affairs, it became the abode of hereditary bondsmen. The unjust, wasteful, and unhappy system was fastened upon the rising institutions of America, not by the consent of the corporation, nor the desire of the emigrants; but as it was introduced by the mercantile avarice of a foreign nation, so it was subsequently riveted by the policy of England, without regard to the interests or the wishes of the colony."—*History of the United States; Bancroft and Bottu*: Vol. 1, p. 65.

virgin soil of North America. England bequeathed this sad legacy to Washington and his fellow-statesmen, when they took the helm of affairs in their own country. Washington said, "It is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." But he did not live to see that desirable consummation achieved. The difficulty of dealing with the question in States where slavery already existed we shall hereafter explain. But Washington and his cotrapatriots did make the *extension* of the area of slavery unconstitutional, as we have seen.

The slave trade and slavery were both English institutions. Let us not forget this undeniable fact in our judgment of American politicians. The African slave trade was not abolished in this country till 1807, after nearly a quarter of a century of agitation, and just 24 years after the United States had become an independent nation. Slavery in the English colonies was not annihilated until 1838, that is, 55 years after the achievement of American independence. Our hands have been free from the crime of the slave trade only 56 years, and of slavery only 25 years. Wm. Knibb was cautioned by the Secretary of our Baptist Foreign Mission, before the Spa Fields meeting, against meddling with slavery, lest he should offend the Government, and put an end to our mission in Jamaica.* Slavery and the slave trade, then, are not the legitimate results of the democratic and republican constitution of America, but were both British institutions. America had her slavery foisted on her by us. Hence it is but a righteous retribution that we should share in her afflictions in getting rid of this monstrous evil. Is our trade suffering? Are many of our mills closed? Let us remember that our country is the author of the curse which is the cause of all this mischief. Slavery is the producer of the baptism in blood and woe through which America is passing, and we are the parents of her slavery! We have no room for indulgence in a pharisaical self-gratulation on the slavery question. In our territories we have only been free from this crime 25 years.

At a recent demonstration in Plymouth, a deservedly respected clergyman of the Establishment ascribed the present

* See Hinton's *Life of Knibb*, pp. 142 and 149.

state of America to the facts that she had neither King nor State Church! This was certainly an original version of this fearful chapter in the history of peoples! But, assuredly, facts show that America is not where she is now for want either of King or State Church, but because of the vile slavery which this land, with its Kings and State Church founded in that distant region. Free institutions sustain no discredit from the disasters that slavery has entailed. Let us rather humble ourselves before God because this land created the difficulty which is convulsing America from one end to the other. Let us weep bitter tears over the sins of our fathers in this matter; and let us not forget that our own repentance has been so tardy and so recent. We have no stone to throw at our American brethren over this dark struggle.

III.—*The President and his Government have done all that they could constitutionally do to put down Slavery.*

Here again we have been often pained at the strain in which many of our influential journals have expressed themselves. They betray in the first place an utter ignorance of the American Constitution; and, in the second place, a determination to put a dark construction upon every act of the American government. But what has the American Government *done* in the direction of putting down slavery, you ask. It has honestly carried into effect the laws against the slave trade. It has hung Gordon, the captain of a slave-ship, as a pirate. It has seized and confiscated five vessels fitting out in their ports as slavers. The negro republics of Hayti and Liberia have been officially recognised by it. It has invited this country to enter into a treaty with it for the suppression of the slave trade, and has conceded what the South never would have yielded, the long controverted right of search. In the district of Columbia, the seat of Government, and under the direct control of Congress, slavery has been entirely abolished. The Federal Government is pledged to the freedom of the slave to the whole extent of its power. Wherever its armies conquer, freedom goes with their flag. The slaves in all rebel states have been declared free, and when they escape into the Federal lines are cared for to the extent of the means available for that purpose,

Schemes of colonisation for the employment of fugitive slaves, who now number 250,000, are in active operation. The Federal Government has invited all loyal States to emancipate their slaves, and has offered them a sufficient pecuniary indemnity for so doing, which offer some of these States have accepted. It has prohibited slavery for ever in all Union territory, agreeably with the fundamental law of the constitution.

But some of our people exclaim against the Federal Government for not putting down slavery in the loyal states *by force*. This outcry is based upon ignorance of the constitution of the United States. In all existing States slavery is a domestic question, which each State has the constitutional power of settling for itself. Its own local legislature alone can abolish the evil if it already exists. President Lincoln has aimed to keep within the limits of the constitution in all his acts, and has waited his time to strike at slavery *as a military necessity*. He can deal with it in no other way. The Federal Government has no more to do with slavery in the States than it has to do with settling the taxation of England. Had Mr. Lincoln aimed his blow at slavery *merely* as a great moral wrong, he would not have carried the country with him. The people would have said to him, "Keep within the limits of the constitution, Sir, and leave domestic questions to the local assemblies." This Mr. Lincoln has scrupulously done in all the States which have not forfeited the protection of the constitution by rebellion against its authority. Where the constitution has been respected by a State, Mr. Lincoln has not interfered with its constitutional rights on the slavery question; but where the State has violently repudiated the constitution, and put itself beyond the pale of its protection, Mr. Lincoln has, after due notice, adopted immediate emancipation *as a military measure*. The power of self-government is guaranteed to every state by the constitution.* This was Washington's difficulty in dealing with slavery as he found it existing in his day, and it is a sufficient reason why the Federal Govern-

* It was so from the first. In the earliest "Articles of Union between the Provinces," each colony retained its jurisdiction entire within its own limits, the right of regulating its internal administration, and an independent sovereignty in respect to all its domestic affairs.—History of United States. Bancroft and Botta, Vol. II, p. 143. All subsequent ordinances have been in harmony with this primitive document of 1775.

ment cannot abolish slavery now in any loyal State. Each loyal State must deal with the question for itself. Candidly weigh these facts, and you must admit that the President and his Government have done all that they could constitutionally do to put an end to slavery. When will our journalists learn to judge with charity, the doings of that much abused, but, I believe, honourable and unselfish patriot, President Lincoln? Years before that gentleman was adopted as the leader of the Republican party he uttered these memorable words: "I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any Abolitionist." "Let us discard all this quibbling about this race, and that race, and the other race being inferior, and unite as one people throughout the land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal." "This is a world of compensations, and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."—Noble sentiments, truly, and sentiments which Mr. Lincoln has never discarded since his elevation to the Presidential chair.*

IV.—*Slavery in the South is infinitely worse than ~~the~~ the mere prejudice against colour in the North.*

How often are we reminded of the dislike of the North to intimate association with the men of negro blood, as if this were an abomination equalling in enormity slavery itself. Now—God forbid that we should say one word in extenuation of the sinfulness of the Northern prejudice against colour—separate pews in places of worship, separate tables at hotels, separate cars on railways, and separate cabins in steamers, for the coloured race, are all opposed to the will

* The leading members of Mr. Lincoln's government are as orthodox as himself on this question. Hear that much abused man, the Hon. W. H. Seward: "The interests of the white race demand the ultimate emancipation of all men. Slavery can be limited to its present bounds. It can be ameliorated. It can be, and it must be abolished, and you and I must do it," He declares free labour and slave labour to be antagonistic systems, and says, "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free-labour nation" The Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, or, as we should call him, Chancellor of the Exchequer, emphatically avows, that, "Slavery and oppression must cease, or American liberty must perish." In 1845, this gentleman declared, "There is not a line of the Instrument which refers to slavery as a national institution to be upheld by national authority."

of Him who hath made of one blood, all nations to dwell together on the face of the earth. The men of the North must surmount their foolish and wicked prejudices, and having admitted the black man to all the legal and political rights of a freeman, they must complete the work by receiving him to social equality. Let there be fellowship as well as liberty. Meanwhile the man of colour need not distress himself about this petty annoyance; for this partial social ostracism is no dishonour to him who suffers it, but is both dishonour and sin to the white race which inflicts it.

But who will dare compare the mere discomforts resulting from this depraved taste in the North, with the horrors and abominations of slavery in the South? What is slavery? and what kind of a being is a Southern slave? The Southern slave is, according to the slave code, mere property. He is classed with "goods and chattels." He owns nothing, not even himself, nor the woman called his wife, nor his children. Body, soul, and spirit, he is his master's property. It is a crime to teach him to read his Bible for himself. He is driven to the field like a beast of burden, and works under constant exposure to the lash. He can legally earn nothing, for all the fruits of his industry belong to his master. At any time he may be whipped like a brute, and if he dies under the lash his master is sure to escape punishment. Should he prove mutinous, his owner may shoot him down without fear of consequences. At any time he may be sold away from his so-called wife and children, and his new owner may marry him to a fresh concubine, and this owner again may sell him, and his third purchaser may marry him to a third wife, and so on. The wife whom he leaves behind, in each case, may be married in the same way to a new husband. Thus the rights and obligations of the marriage tie are utterly set aside by slavery. The same thing may be said of the parental relation. The slave is a mere man-breeding machine for the profit of his master's purse! As to the female slave the case is precisely the same. The rights of chastity are unknown to her!* Poor

* We do not pretend to say that every Southern planter is as bad as the code and system of slavery permit him to be. Fancy sketches may be drawn of visits to Southern plantations which hide the hideousness of slavery, but the stern fact remains, that the slave, whether man or woman, is the absolute property of another. It may be the interest of the master to use his "niggers" well, but,

creature! she has no refuge from lawless lust! Her master may do as he pleases with her, be she married or single. She is his property, as much so as his horse or his pig, and has no power of resistance. Masters often sell their own children begotten of their slaves. Young girls are raised and sold avowedly for the worst of purposes. They are exposed on the block, sometimes almost in a state of nudity, and any beast of a purchaser may manipulate them as a butcher would an ox. Do you shudder at these abominations? I wonder not at *your* horror. But Southern slave holders, and ministers, and doctors of divinity, will justify, by the authority of scripture, the slavery which permits these outrages! My God! dost thou see and hear these men when they thus blaspheme Thy Holy name and word? Arise, and plead Thine own cause; for they have utterly made void Thy law! Even the code of Moses sentenced the man-stealer to death, and forbade the rendition of the fugitive servant to the master whose cruelty had driven him to flee: while the Gospel pronounces every man, be he black or white, to be our neighbour; bids us love our neighbour as ourselves; give this universal rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and commands us to "Remember those who are in bonds as bound with them." In the Northern or free states of America, the black man owns himself, his wife, his children, his earnings, his talents. The protection of the law and of the constitution is afforded him. Education is provided for him. He may amass wealth in the exercise of his peaceful industry. In short, in the eye of the law and of the constitution, he is a free man, and stands upon a level with his white neighbour. The prejudice against colour, however foolish and iniquitous it may be, does not affect his legal or constitutional rights. And yet how many Englishmen speak of the condition of the black

alas, such considerations are a fearfully weak barrier against cruelty, oppression, rage, and lust! The history of the human race since the fall proves that a true regard to self interest has little power in arresting the tempest of passion, especially where unlimited license and favourable opportunities exist. The sting of slavery is in the fact that it leaves the happiness and virtue of the black man and woman at the mercy and caprice of the white owner. Besides, the kindest owner of "property" in negroes may become embarrassed: and may be compelled to "sell:" and then kind owners die as other men do, and may be succeeded in the ownership of their slaves by devils incarnate. The system is loathsome and fiendish, however moral and virtuous some planters may be in other respects.

man in the South, as preferable to that of the black man in the North. Such effusions are the offspring of ignorance and prejudice. They are as untruthful as any statement can be. The black man's freedom in the North, spite of Northern prejudices against colour, is as Heaven when compared with hell, if contrasted with the state of the slave in the South. Let us have no subterfuges here, but let the issue be clearly understood. Let not a false taste be put in the same category of abominations with a system which is the very incarnation of lust, of cruelty, and of injustice; which supercedes every righteous law, both human and divine in its treatment of the negro race; and which, in short, is the foulest spawn of the bottomless pit.*

V.—*The Federal Government has given throughout this*

* Mr. Roebuck's strong asseverations as to the manner in which coloured people are treated in the Northern States have brought several replies, but the most conclusive is that of a well-known negro, Mr. Sella Martin. The *Daily News*, which publishes the document, says:—"He has had experience both of North and South. He was owned for a time by a pious praying master, whose moral sensibilities he one day shocked by escaping, and whose letter to the fugitive on the enormity of the crime of stealing himself from his master we published a few months ago. He has since paid between three and four hundred pounds in coin to ransom his female relations from the same master." It must be admitted that such a witness is at least as worthy of notice as Mr. Roebuck. He gives many facts to show that coloured people are treated respectfully in the majority of the Northern States. He says:—"The North, in getting rid of slavery, initiated a line of policy that soon got rid of slave laws; and although in many of its cities the coloured child is denied the right of being taught in the same school-house, still separate schools have been established for them at the expense of the State. In many of the Northern States the coloured children are taught in the same schools, and in none of them are they denied education at the expense of the State. In most of the Northern States the coloured man has a vote, and in nearly all of them the right to testify, to sue and be sued." But Mr. Martin meets Mr. Roebuck on other ground than that of fact. He contends in a thoroughly manly spirit for his birthright, not as a coloured man to be well treated, but as a man to be free. "I had rather take my chances with Northern hate, that coldly lets me alone to the possession of my wife and children, even though it be in poverty and proscription, than with Southern affection, which, like a bear in its embraces, would squeeze all the breath of manhood out of me. I had rather have my dinner denied me than my wife taken from me; and I am sure that even the dehumanising influence of slavery has not extinguished all affection so completely in the case of the majority of slaves as to make them willingly bargain away their manhood for a mess of pottage." In conclusion he says: "I am as severe a judge against Northern injustice, when I see it in individual cases, as any one need to be; but I wish to say, in closing these remarks, that if the North is unjust, it is so against the spirit of its laws and the protests of many of its people, while the laws of the South compel it to be unjust with the unanimous consent of its inhabitants." This is the pith of the discussion, though Mr. Roebuck altogether misses it in the ardour of his partisanship.—*Liverpool Daily Post*, June 4th, 1843.—The testimony of that enlightened African, Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave residing in the North, corroborates the evidence of Mr. Sella Martin in each particular. The author has found every escaped bondman with whom he has conversed ready to witness to the same effect. In fact the negroes of America daily pray for "the good President," and the success of his government. These are stubborn facts.

struggle proofs of its anxiety to cultivate friendly relations with this country.

It has conceded, as we have seen, what the slave power never would have yielded, the right of search; thus settling a question which had often endangered peaceful relations between the two countries. It repudiated the conduct of Commander Wilkes in the Trent affair, and the decision to do so had already been taken by the American Government before the arrival of our demands. While the Confederates boast of their ability to starve our operatives by the failure of the supply of their cotton; the people of the North fit out splendid ships to send thousands of pounds worth of food to the men of Lancashire. Thus they requite us for permitting Alabamas and Floridas to be built and fitted out in British ports, to be manned by British seamen, and to leave our shores to prey upon their peaceful commerce. May God remember them in their affliction for having returned us good for evil. Verily they have heaped coals of fire on our heads! And yet there is on the part of many of our countrymen an evident set purpose to misrepresent even the kind acts of the Northern people towards ourselves. Such acts are called by them cant and hypocrisy. The very good of these people is evil spoken of. No allowance is made for the excited state of the American people; none for the difficulties which arise to the Federal Government from the embarrassing zeal of its traitorous servants with strong Southern proclivities. Many men in the service of the North are the secret friends of the South, and would rejoice to be the means of embroiling this country with the Federal Government, as sure to lead to the disruption of the Union, and the independence of the South. When Mr. Lincoln first took office, he was surrounded with such traitors, nor have the high places of the land been yet thoroughly cleansed from these secret enemies. Many of our orators and journalists take no account of these facts. Their vocation seems to be to intensify the hatred of this country to every thing that is American; and to alienate the two kindred races beyond the possibility of reconciliation. God grant to all our writers, and preachers, and statesmen, in dealing with the Northern Government, more of that charity which thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.

VI.—*The difficulties of the Federal Government are aggravated by emigrants, especially from Ireland.*

Many of these men hate the blacks more than the native Americans do. The reason is obvious. They do not wish thousands of free negroes to come into the labour markets of the North to compete with themselves. In many instances they have been the leaders in riots against the employment of liberated slaves either as soldiers, or as labourers in the Northern cities. They wish to keep the price of labour up, and the wholesale employment of Africans would bring it down. Hence their furious opposition to emancipation.

Besides, the Irish emigrants are generally animated with a most deadly hatred to this country, and would exult, beyond measure, in seeing America and England at war with each other. I need not quote from their inflammatory speeches or placards. They are reported in our own newspapers, and you are familiar with their spiteful and vindictive tone. These renegade subjects of our own beloved Queen (may God long spare and abundantly bless her) are the bane of America's peaceful relations with ourselves. Let us then exercise a generous forbearance towards a people who have received into their midst such firebrands from our shores. Our own population are ministering to their difficulties in the way of preserving amity and concord with ourselves. President Lincoln may point to our degenerate sons, and say—"You sent me these to agitate our cities with demonstrations hostile to your own country: bear with me if in this hour of trial such fiery spirits from your own shores should goad my people into the utterance of sentiments not over complimentary to yourselves. Keep your own Irish at home, and take back all you have sent us, and there will be little danger of a rupture between the two countries."*

VII.—*Again, Some of our English journalists profess to be surprised that the Southern Slaves do not escape in larger numbers into the North, if their condition be so bad.*

The impression sought to be conveyed is, that the slaves

* There are many exceptions to the foregoing observations. Some of the Irish immigrants of America are the fast friends of the Negro, have freely spilt their blood in the cause of freedom, and entertain a grateful remembrance of the Queen and country that they have left. Still we have reason to believe that our strictures are true with regard to the large majority of the class referred to, especially the poorer and more illiterate portion of them.

do not care to escape when they can. This, however, is an utter falsehood. Many means have been taken throughout the history of American slavery to prevent the escape of the slave. Education has been denied him that he may not learn to sigh for freedom. He has been carefully and jealously watched, and the first indications of insubordination have been whipped out of him by the lash. Trained bloodhounds are employed to hunt him down should he try to escape. The entire police of the South have to assist in the catching of the fugitive; while scores of men in each slave State get their living by acting as professional "nigger" hunters. Yet with all these precautions slaves had escaped in such numbers that a few years ago it was deemed necessary to pass a Fugitive Slave Law (A.D. 1850), which made it compulsory on every state to surrender slaves that should escape into it, and to place the State police and prisons at the service of the slave-catchers,—one of the most iniquitous pieces of legislation that the century has witnessed, but which, thank God, the present rebellion has torn to tatters. *The passing of this vile measure was a testimony to the eagerness of the slave to escape when possible.* Moreover, since the present war has been raging, the Southerners have always marched their negroes away from all contiguity to the Northern lines, up into the interior of the country to prevent their running away. Still, with these precautions, 250,000 of these unhappy beings have fled from their Southern masters, and have given themselves up to the Federal authorities, since the outbreak of the struggle. And yet, men among us with Southern sympathies ask, with much apparent innocence, why don't the slaves try to escape?

Besides, remember that were it so that the slave manifested no desire to flee from his bondage, *this would be one of the strongest arguments against the system.* For the love of freedom is an instinct of the human heart, and unnatural and crushing must that institution be, which whips even this mighty passion out of a man's nature. That slavery which destroys men's natural love of liberty must be the masterpiece of Satan. But the history of the question proves, that the tears and groans of slavery have not utterly extinguished the yearnings of the coloured race for liberty in America. They seize freedom for themselves whenever they can, and

have ever done so. The South held four millions and upwards of slaves when this war commenced, and these millions of our fellow men demand, and must have their liberty. We do not pretend to dictate to the statesmen of America as to how this needed reform shall take place. If it would be unwise to emancipate the whole four millions *at once*, and without any previous education, means must be taken for preparing them for their liberty. It will be just 80 years on the 3rd of September next, since this country made peace with the United States, and acknowledged them as a people. During those 80 years America has been trading in the bones and sinews of the African race. She must now repent of her sin, and return to the path of righteousness, in her treatment of her coloured brethren. If the blacks are not educated it is the fault of the South, for she has made it a criminal act to educate them. She must train them for freedom, and give them their birthright as men. The difficulty must be met and mastered. The civilisation of the age, the material interests and moral grandeur of America, and above all, the honour of our common Christianity demand that slavery shall cease. It is of no use to evade the question by saying that emancipation is impracticable. It always must be practicable to do that which is right. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Slavery abolished, there would be no obstacle to the peaceable union of North and South. America would once again be one; and she would be great and glorious, because free. No well-wisher to the cause of human progress can desire to see America enfeebled or divided. She, like ourselves, is one of the main buttresses of freedom in the earth. Her strength, when purged of the stain of slavery, would be strength to the cause of liberty all over the world. She holds our Protestantism; she uses our Bible; she speaks our language; she works with us in the cause of missions and religion; her leading institutions, excepting her republicanism and her slavery, are identical with our own. The world needs us both. With slavery abolished in the States the great hindrance to full unity with this country would be taken out of the way: England and America would be rivals only in the arts of peace; and in the spread of liberty and religion would be the two great bene-

factresses of the human race. The cause of Evangelical Christianity would receive an impulse greater than any that it has enjoyed since the Reformation. Infidelity would be deprived of one of its pet arguments. Christ would be honoured: God, even our own God, would bless us, and all the ends of the earth would fear Him!

II.

We conclude this discourse by a few words of practical application, on the duties of British Christians in view of the facts that have passed under notice.

I.—*We must recognise in this horrible and fratricidal war the hand of a retributive and punitive Providence.* The three passages which we have read as our text this evening are God's protest against American Slavery, and Northern complicity in the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. The domestic servitude which was tolerated under the code of Moses was utterly unlike slavery in the Southern States. Man stealing was punishable with death; and, to keep masters from oppressing, the rendition of a runaway servant was forbidden. But America has sinned against both law and Gospel by persevering in the maintenance of slavery; and the North has defiled her own purity by submitting to the passing of the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law. Both parties are now suffering for their crimes. The moan of the slave has come up into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth. The people who have winked at these abominations, their Maker is rebuking in tones of thunder. The fields where the slave toiled are being whitened with the bones, and drenched with the blood of his white oppressors. The wealth squeezed out of the forced labour of the hapless negro is being squandered in the maintenance of tremendous armaments. The people who denied to the black man all his legal and natural rights are placed under martial law, exposed to a relentless conscription, and ruled with a rod of iron. North and South are bleeding at every pore. They are disgorging the wealth accumulated during the greater part of a century out of the groans and tears of the African race. Verily there is a God in the Heavens. The day of reckoning has come to America

as a nation, and she is being repaid in blood and death for her crimes against millions of wretched slaves. Let us bow before the majesty of Him who plants His footsteps in the sea and rides upon the storm. Let us adore the awful hand which is now stretched over that suffering land; and let us pray that her people may clothe themselves in the sackcloth of a genuine repentance, and may reverently hear the voice which says to them, "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

II.—*We must seek to acquire an intensified horror of American Slavery as it exists.* We need a new baptism in the old Anti-Slavery Spirit. Not that the people of this country are in the least danger of becoming positively pro-slavery in spirit or in sentiment. But we do fear lest the deadly hatred of slavery which existed in this nation before this struggle should be toned down by the gallantry of the Southern armies in the field. Man, the Englishman especially, is a great worshipper of courage and of success.* In our admiration of the prowess and endurance wherewith a bad cause is maintained, we are apt to lose sight of the badness of the cause itself. Hence our leading journal, a month or two back, contained a timid apology for slavery, which however the voice of public indignation has since compelled it to retract. Hence, too, the little that is said in many newspapers, and in the speeches of orators, about the bearing of the struggle upon the future of slavery. Men of the land of Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Sturge, and Knibb, and Burchell! Arouse yourselves from the torpor which has so recently come over you with regard to the fearful atrocities of slavery! prove yourselves to be worthy of your descent from the founders of liberty for the negro race! Should this address be the means of awakening the old anti-slavery fire in any breast, the speaker will have his reward. Some parties may say, this is not preaching the gospel; but we

* On this principle the nation went nearly mad a short time ago in admiration of Tom Sayers, because he maintained an unequal contest of two hours and a half with a man four and a half inches taller than himself. The disgusting and demoralising brutality of the prize ring was forgotten while the people burned their incense to the brawny idol of the hour.

affirm that it is. For the gospel is a message of gladness to the slave all over the world: it is the charter of his rights, and the pledge of his ultimate enfranchisement. The birth of its Messiah was proclaimed in the strains, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." The Saviour Himself opened his commission in the Synagogue of Nazareth with the memorable words—"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." The New Testament is the slave's gospel, declaring to him that it is the office of Jesus Christ to set him free, not only by the redemption of his soul, but by the destruction of the temporal bondage in which he is held. That Gospel we fearlessly proclaim, and believe that God will accept the service.

III.—*We must give all possible and lawful encouragement to those who in America are struggling for the freedom of the slave.*

The North hath its sins on this question, as well as the South. God give them both repentance and forgiveness. But every escaped slave, without one exception, will tell you that his hope is, under God, in the North. We have not forgotten the noble letter of that fine specimen of the African race, Frederick Douglas, addressed to the anti-slavery men of England. It uttered the universal sentiment of every intelligent negro in the States. It told us that the yearnings of the coloured race in America are for the success of the North. Material help we may not give to either party; but let us aid the cause of freedom by our generous sympathies and fervent prayers. We must see to it—that no more Alabamas leave our shores to prey upon the vitals of a nation with which we are at peace.* All mere party and

* Listen Englishmen to our own Regius Professor of History at Oxford, Goldwin Smith, on the Alabama question: "No nation ever inflicted upon another a more flagrant or a more maddening wrong. No nation with English blood in its veins had ever borne such a wrong without resentment. The case of the Alabama bore no analogy to the case of sale of munitions of war. She was not like munition of war exported to the territory of the purchaser. She did not go—she was never meant to go—into a Confederate port; up to this moment

and political considerations must be laid aside in dealing with this great question. The nation must be one in its resolve to be free from all complicity in the struggle of the slave party in America to spread their fiendish institution all over that country.

War is, we believe, inherently, radically, and essentially, a bad thing. It is evil, and only evil, and that continually. God forbid, that we should say one word in opposition to genuine peace principles. But remember it was the South that began this deadly conflict. They raised the standard of rebellion against a Government which they had already rendered almost defenceless. They ordered the raising of 100,000 men to fight under the flag of revolt. They committed the first overt acts of hostility. They seized the Government forts, arsenals, dockyards, and vessels. They urged on the bloody fray. As Dr. Eddy, of Philadelphia, says—"The Sepoy rebellion in India was not as inexcusable as this war waged against the Federal Government by States whose soil we have purchased, whose fire sides we have defended, whose debts we have paid, whose insults we have forgiven, whose injuries we have borne, and, alas—God forgive us!—whose slaves we have caught and returned." War is unquestionably from hell, but slavery was devised in the lowest and darkest regions of that infernal world. If war be bad, and bad it is, slavery is ten thousand times worse: it is the superlative of wickedness. "It shames the nether pit." There are four millions of slaves in America whose liberty hangs upon the issues of this conflict, and though we could weep tears of blood over this fratricidal war, yet we must and ever will pray that, seeing the strife exists, success may be with those who have proclaimed liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to those that are bound.

IV.—*We must discountenance everything that would tend to endanger the peace of the two countries.*

England and America were made to be one. They are mother and daughter. Each may learn much of the other. Their proper condition is one of cordial and continuous

she had never entered a port in the Confederate territory. Built and equipped in a British port, manned by British seamen, with the English flag flying, she went forth to cruise from an English port against the commerce of our allies."
—(Meeting at Manchester).

alliance. A war between these two nations would be the heaviest blow to the interests of the world that we have yet seen. It would put back the progress of civilisation, and liberty, and religion a century. Tyrants and despots would exult; Satan would rejoice; and the friends of freedom and of progress all over the earth would utter one loud and universal wail. This thing must not be! No, by all that is holy, and noble, and good, this thing must not be! We can afford to be longsuffering and forbearing in the present state of America. Crippled as she now is, our natural pride could not suffer by a magnanimous reticence of spirit even when we think we have just cause of complaint. We can honourably be patient. God of the nations! let not these two most Christian peoples ever again be embroiled, but in thy good providence preserve their peace and friendship, that they may be a growing blessing to this poor suffering world of thine!

V.—*We must use all our influence to prevent our Government from a premature recognition of the South.*

This would inevitably lead to war between this country and the Federal Government; it would, in fact, *under the present circumstances*, be tantamount to a declaration of war on our part. Let us then beware of being hurried by any political partisanship into a deed that will be fraught with such consequences. War with the free North means alliance with the slave-holding South: and, shall anti-slavery England ever be found in such a condition? We plead on behalf of four millions of slaves, and on behalf of their descendants through coming generations. Let these have to bless our nation for standing firm to its anti-slavery creed in this hour of trial. We plead for our country's honour and consistency, and for the interests of liberty and righteousness in all coming time. Oh! that the Eternal God may keep us from the least national fellowship with that accursed thing, slavery!

VI.—*We must cheerfully sustain our own people who are suffering in consequence of this wicked war.*

We need to thank the Father of mercies for the grace which He has given to our noble operatives in this hour of trial. They, at least, have been true to their anti-slavery instincts. When they have been urged by agents of the

slave Confederacy to agitate for the recognition of the South, they have almost unanimously refused. Their answer has been, "No! we will bear being out of employment and all the consequences that this entails, but we will never be made the tools of the slaveholder. Let slavery be buried in the bloody grave of this war, even if we have to suffer in the process." I thank God for such men. They are worthy of their country, and we may well be grateful for them. May the Holy Spirit give them grace to persevere in their steadfastness!

But, brethren, England must do her duty to these her noble sons. They must be provided for until the crisis is over. Let us be thankful that the times are improving in Lancashire. Cotton is being obtained in steadily increasing quantities from various sources. The local industry is reviving, and the recipients of relief are becoming fewer every week. Lancashire has seen its worst days in consequence of the American struggle; but, as long as help is needed, the country must give it with a liberal hand and a willing heart. Southern statesmen and journalists have affirmed that "*Cotton is King*," but we rejoice that "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth," and that "He will defend the cause of the poor."

VII.—*We must daily besiege the throne of grace for the diffusion of the empire of the Prince of Peace.*

How sad it is that in this nineteenth century since the angels sang the song of Bethlehem, the most Christian nations on the face of the earth should be so ready to submit their differences to the bloody arbitrement of the sword. Let us think of our wars, and of the wars of the nations of Europe, where the various forms of Christianity are the most observed. And now we have the United States torn by the most fearful struggle that perhaps the world has ever seen. The first human death that took place on our planet was a murder, and murder by a brother's hand! Sad omen this of the history of our race! Fearful prophecy that man would ever be the great destroyer of his kind! But a brighter epoch is to dawn upon our darkness. Messiah is to judge among the nations by His gospel and His spirit, and the result will be, they shall learn war no more; but shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks!

Happy day! let thy light soon dawn upon this war-blasted earth! Father of mercies! let this millennium of our race speedily arrive!

We are invited by the friends of peace to make the cessation of the struggle in America subject of daily and special prayer. In that invitation we cordially join. But let us pray that peace may be made on the broad basis of the *ultimate* emancipation of the coloured race; and that when the sword is sheathed the slave may find his shackles gone, and the day of freedom come! Our first prayer must be for the destruction of slavery. That horrid system originated the strife, and there can be no lasting peace as long as it exists. Eternal God! let the jubilee of freedom be proclaimed through our bleeding sister country, and then the clamour of war will soon be silenced, and its thunders die away into hymns of joy and thanksgiving.

VIII.—*Let us daily seek to be released from the Slavery of sin ourselves, and walk in habitual peace with God and all mankind.*

The worst bondage is vassalage to Satan, the world, and sin. These fetters all men wear by nature. Has grace broken them in our case? Are we the Lord's freed men? As Englishmen, you justly rejoice in being the inhabitants of the freest nation in Europe; but are you released from the chains of lust, and worldliness, and unbelief? I charge you, answer this question as in God's sight. Those only whom the Lord makes free, are free indeed.

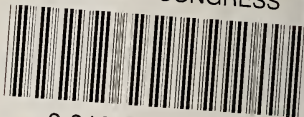
The worst war is that of the human heart against its Maker. "The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God neither indeed can be." Has this enmity been destroyed in your soul? Are you at peace with God? Is your war with heaven at an end? Have you surrendered unconditionally and heartily to Jehovah's mercy in Christ Jesus? Are you a rebel, or an adopted child of the Most High? Let every one who is in arms against the Ruler of the Universe hear this proclamation with which He sends me once more, to-night, into His enemies' camp:—"Now then, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. For He hath made Him who knew no

sin to be sin for us; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." "The blood of Jesus Christ, His son, cleanseth us from all sin." "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and ye shall be saved." Amen.





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